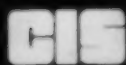


NOTE

This Microfiche meets the quality requirements of the American National Standard for Microfiche of Documents (ANSI PH5.9-1975). However, because of imperfections in the document from which it was made, it contains images that are illegible or difficult to read. The source document for this microfiche is the best copy that could be obtained prior to filming.



Congressional Information Service
Washington, D.C.

CSCE DIGEST



August 1989

CHAIRMAN DeCONCINI OPPOSES WAIVER OF JACKSON-VANIK

Increases in the numbers of individuals being permitted to emigrate from the Soviet Union this year have sparked considerable debate over the advisability of granting the Soviet Union a 1-year waiver of the trade restrictions imposed by the 1974 Jackson-Vanik amendment.

In testimony before a June joint hearing of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittees on Europe and the Middle East and International Economic Policy and Trade, Helsinki Commission Chairman Dennis DeConcini voiced his opposition to any waiver at this time, declaring that the "conditions for waiving Jackson-Vanik have not yet been met."

"While it is true that there has been a dramatic rise in Soviet emigration figures, this is not enough. A clear policy of free emigration must be established in Soviet law and in the implementation of that law. If we accept anything less, we run the risk of acting prematurely. Without the guarantee of real legal reform, emigration policy remains an arbitrary exercise to be carried out at the whim of the Kremlin leadership," stated DeConcini.

"Our action on waiving the Jackson-Vanik amendment should be made contingent on how quickly the Soviets change their emigration laws and show a pattern of implementation, how quickly the Soviets resolve their long-term emigration cases, and how quickly the Soviets change their unreasonable policy towards 'state secrets' as a bar to travel abroad. The Soviets must also be required to show a continued high level of granted emigration visas."

Commissioner Edward Feighan (D-OH), however, has taken a different approach in the Jackson-Vanik discussions as illustrated by his statement in a May *Christian Science Monitor* editorial that "waiving Jackson-Vanik for a 1-year period will encourage the Soviet Government to continue liberalizing its human rights policy."

"After all, the Soviets will know that if they don't continue their new emigration policy, their experience with U.S. trade concessions will end after a single year. It will strengthen the forces of reform in the USSR—and primarily Mikhail Gorbachev—by demonstrating that Soviet human rights improvements will be acknowledged by the West," wrote Feighan. "The alternative—doing nothing—could lead to the shutting down of the gates we have now pried open. That should be the last thing any of us wants."

The debate is expected to intensify since resolutions indicating congressional support for a 1-year waiver of the trade restrictions have been introduced into both the House and the Senate.

WELCOMING ABE STOLAR

At a July reception and congressional briefing, members of the Helsinki Commission joined the Congress in welcoming former Soviet refusenik Abe Stolar to Washington. Stolar, the 77-year-old American citizen who left the United States at the age of 19 with his parents to help "build a worker's paradise in the Soviet Union," became one of the Soviet Union's most well-known refuseniks. Stolar and his wife, Gita, had been trying to leave the Soviet Union since 1974, but their dream did not come true until March of this year when Soviet authorities finally permitted the family to emigrate to Israel. The purpose of his Washington visit was to give Abe Stolar the opportunity to thank all the Members of Congress and private individuals who helped him realize his goal of leaving the Soviet Union.

CONGRESS RECOMMENDS BAN ON SOME IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA

In response to Romania's continued severe austerity program and myriad human rights abuses, Congress has requested that the Administration consider prohibiting the importation of certain goods from Romania.

The House of Representatives approved by voice vote an amendment to the Foreign Aid Authorization bill, offered by Commissioner Chris Smith, expressing the sense of Congress that the United States "should impose sanctions against all food and agricultural products of the Socialist Republic of Romania."

Introducing the amendment, Commissioner Smith stated, "Romania's food exports, including pork, wine, and cheese, are targeted for banning precisely because Ceausescu has been exporting the very staples necessary to feed the Romanian people. . . . (T)he Romanian regime violates the rights of religious believers, national minority members, would-be emigrants, and all who seek to exercise their right to freedom of expression."

In the Senate, Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell introduced an amendment on behalf of Commission Chairman DeConcini, Commissioner Frank Lautenberg and Senator Larry Pressler expressing the sense of the Congress that the United States "should prohibit the importation into the United States of Romanian meat, meat products, and wine until such time as the Romanian Government ceases to withhold food, particularly meat, from the Romanian people and improves significantly its domestic human rights records." The amendment calls, moreover, for the Secretary of State to prepare a study of several possible policy options regarding Romania, including instituting a boycott on food exports from Romania and barring the Romanian state airline, Tarom, from U.S. airports.

Chairman DeConcini stressed that Romania "has exported food even as Romanian store shelves have lain bare." Noting that Romanian President Ceausescu had announced in the spring that the country had repaid its foreign debt, he pointed out that "the austerity program shows no sign of abating. Nor," he continued, "does the regime's policy of repression show any softening."

The Commission is concerned over the continued detention of Valentin Rusu, Gheorghe Iacob and Mihai Cretu, three members of the Comanesti Baptist Church congregation. The three were arrested at the end of May, shortly before Romanian authorities demolished the church for alleged "zoning violations," and reportedly have suffered beatings in prison. Baptist activist Nestor-Corneliu Popescu also continues to languish in a psychiatric prison, where he has been interned since November 1987 in spite of medical board rulings that he is mentally fit.

GRIGORYANTS VISITS CONGRESS

Glasnost magazine editor, Sergei Grigoryants, was featured at a congressional briefing sponsored by the Helsinki Commission, the National Forum Foundation, and The Center for Democracy. Commissioner Don Ritter chaired the briefing.

Grigoryants, who was in the United States to receive the "Golden Pen Award" from the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers for his work as editor of *Glasnost* magazine, provided detailed information on the crisis in Uzbekistan and the situation in the Soviet Baltic States and Transcaucasia.

LONDON INFORMATION FORUM

Representatives of the CSCE participating States gathered in London in mid-April for the opening of the Information Forum, the first non-military follow-up activity to be held since the conclusion of the Vienna Follow-up Meeting. In keeping with its mandate, the Forum focused on improvement of the circulation of, access to and exchange of information; cooperation in the field of information; and improvement of working conditions for journalists. Subsidiary working bodies considered specific problems in the areas of printed information; filmed, broadcast and oral information; and communication.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher addressed the first plenary session, held on April 18. In her remarks, Mrs. Thatcher called for a freer flow of information and ideas in Europe. Setting the tone for the 35-nation meeting she said, *"(O)ur purpose here is not to criticize. Rather the aim of the Forum is to be constructive by encouraging everyone to adopt the basic Helsinki standards for free exchange of information. There will only be a common European home,"* she insisted, *"if the occupants can mingle and talk freely."* Thatcher noted that *"countries which try to insulate their people . . . do not just fail to live up to their commitments under the Helsinki accords: they condemn their people to lower standards of living and a second-rate existence."*

In his opening statement, U.S. head of delegation Ambassador Leonard H. Marks stressed the need to avoid unnecessary confrontation at the Forum while not ducking the difficult issues meriting discussion. Ambassador Marks expressed the hope that reforms in Hungary, Poland and the U.S.S.R. would continue and become irreversible. He voiced deep concern, however, over rigid controls on information which remain in place in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, and Romania.

The U.S. delegation consisted of representatives of the Department of State, USIA, and the Helsinki Commission as well as more than a dozen distinguished private sector advisors. The latter represented various information-related fields, including film, broadcasting, publishing, journalism, and education. These individuals, together with their counterparts from other delegations, played a leading role in the work of the Forum. Many working journalists also participated. The Polish and Hungarian delegations included opposition members, a sign of growing pluralism in those countries.

The Forum was marked by a greater degree of openness and access for the public than any previous CSCE follow-up activity had exhibited. Virtually all plenary sessions and informal meetings of the subsidiary bodies were open to the press and public. Representatives of several U.S. non-governmental organizations were in attendance.

While much of the discussion in London focused on cooperative endeavors and technical standards, issues of basic human rights, including freedom of expression and the freedom to receive and impart information, were not ignored. Notably, some Hungarian delegates joined many others from Western and neutral countries in roundly criticizing Romania for its poor human rights record. The Romanian representatives at the LIF maintained an extremely low profile, feebly refuting charges of human rights violations as interference in Romania's internal affairs.

Several delegations also expressed concern about conditions elsewhere in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. In particular, many delegations forced considerable attention on developments in Czechoslovakia where the authorities have severely curtailed freedom of expression and have frequently imprisoned individuals who speak out against the regime's actions. Bulgaria was criticized for its continued jamming of Turkish radio and television broadcasts. Bulgaria and Turkey exchanged barbs during much of the Forum with charges and counter charges over conditions in the two countries.

The West was also not immune from criticism. A number of delegates, including some from Western and neutral countries,

repeatedly criticized the United States for entry restrictions under the McCarran-Walter Act. The United Kingdom also came under fire, including from private members of its own delegation, for its practices under the Official Secrets Act.

In addition to reviewing implementation of existing CSCE commitments, the delegates in London put forward concrete proposals for consideration. Sixty-nine proposals in all were introduced during the course of the 4-week meeting. The Soviet Union pressed two specific initiatives: the creation of a uniform journalistic code of conduct, and the establishment of an all-European television program. Neither proposal received much support from Western delegates. Private sector members of the U.S. delegation introduced a variety of proposals. These included calls for: unimpeded access to typewriters, word processors, and copying machines; the use of non-convertible currencies to defray in-country business expenses, rather than being required to expend hard currency; and various improvements in working conditions for journalists. Delegates also pressed for a loosening of visa policies and travel restrictions and greater latitude in hiring local personnel.

In his May 10 final plenary speech, Ambassador Marks urged the delegates to view the Forum's closing not as *"an end but a prelude to an era of greater understanding, reduced international tensions, and closer bonds among our societies. Change,"* he noted, *"is in the wind."* The CSCE nations should embrace change as an *"opportunity,"* and not fear it as a *"threat."*

Efforts to reach consensus on a concluding communique were dashed when the Romanian delegation, on the eve of the closing, indicated that it lacked instructions to support the document. The majority of delegates, nevertheless, expressed the view that the discussions which took place during the Forum had proven worthwhile. The proposals will be forwarded to the next CSCE Follow-Up Meeting, which is scheduled to take place in Helsinki in 1992.

THE HUMAN DIMENSION MECHANISM

From May 30-June 23, 1989, the first of three scheduled meetings of the Conference on the Human Dimension took place in Paris, France. Attended by all 35 States participating in the on-going Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the meeting was devoted to a review of implementation of CSCE commitments, a discussion of the human dimension mechanism (sub-working body A), and consideration of new proposals (sub-working body B). Of these three, the review of the so-called "human dimension mechanism" is new to the Helsinki process.

The Vienna Concluding Document (VCD) introduced a new chapter to the Helsinki process called the "Human Dimension of the CSCE." The "human dimension" is a new term and refers to all human rights and humanitarian issues, whether they derive from Baskets I, II, or III. The set of procedures created in the VCD to raise human rights and humanitarian issues has come to be known as "the human dimension mechanism."

According to the VCD chapter on the human dimension, there are four ways in which human dimension concerns may be raised. First, any participating State may raise the case of an individual or a situation concerning a broader issue with any other participating State in a representation or request for information. The receiving State is required to respond.

Second, a participating State may request a bilateral meeting with any other participating State to discuss a human dimension case or situation. The receiving State must grant the bilateral meeting.

Third, any participating State may notify other participating States of human dimension cases and situations. Fourth, particular cases and situations may be raised at Conferences on the Human Dimension, such as those scheduled for Paris, Copenhagen, and Moscow, as well as in the main CSCE Follow-up Meetings.

(continued on page 3)

(THE HUMAN DIMENSION MECHANISM—continued)

The mechanism must be implemented through diplomatic channels, or through any agency designated to make or receive representations and requests by that agency's government. Sub-working body A (SWB-A) of the Paris meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension, which met during the second and third weeks of the Conference, was devoted to a discussion of the human dimension mechanism. During this phase, participating States described their experiences with the mechanism and suggested ways in which the mechanism might be made more effective.

The country which had the greatest amount of experience with the mechanism was Czechoslovakia. Over a dozen participating States used the mechanism with the Prague Government regarding its egregious treatment of demonstrators during the closing days of the Vienna Meeting, including its imprisonment of writer Vaclav Havel. Governments which had made representations to Czechoslovakia noted that while Prague had adhered to the form of its obligations, its failure to respond to the substance of them left the essence of the representations unresolved. For its part, Czechoslovakia noted its use of the mechanism with two countries: in both cases, with countries that had already raised the Havel case.

In the context of sub-working body A itself, Romania and Bulgaria received the most criticism. Romania had tried to distance itself from the mechanism by making a "reservation" to the Chapter on the Human Dimension of the VCD. This "reservation" was widely rejected as having no validity since Romania had, in fact, given its consensus to all of the VCD, including the Chapter on the Human Dimension. Several countries also used the meeting to raise Romania's continuing human rights violations effected under the guise of a rural "systematization" program. A number of countries also raised Bulgaria's heinous

treatment of its ethnic Turkish population, an especially timely and urgent issue in light of the Bulgarian government's most recent crackdown which was launched during the course of the Paris meeting. By the end of May, following widespread protests against the Government's campaign to assimilate forcibly its Turkish minority, Bulgaria had begun expelling ethnic Turks, confiscating their personal property, and, in some cases, torturing the exiting Turks. Bulgaria attempted to deflect criticism by raising human rights abuses in Turkey, but the effort was undercut by the widespread perception that Bulgaria's motives were purely self-serving.

Notwithstanding the frank and open criticism of the most serious and flagrant deviations from Helsinki commitments, the overall tone of SWB-A was polite, and most delegations gave constructive attention to the practical aspects of the human dimension mechanism.

Some delegations observed the use of the mechanism had sometimes been confusing because not all representations and responses had been in writing. The United States agreed that use of the mechanism should be in written form. This standard would serve to clarify the issue being raised and the response expected, as well as to make clear whether the case or situation was being raised through the human dimension mechanism or through traditional bilateral channels.

Other suggestions discussed at the meeting included setting a time limit for responses, and preventing the use of "counter-claims" raised solely as a means to circumvent scrutiny of one's own record. It was generally agreed that the mechanism was too new and there was too little experience with it to warrant changes in its mandated functioning at this point. At the Copenhagen and Moscow meetings, which will follow the same agenda as the Paris meeting, further consideration is expected to be given to possible improvements of the mechanism.

NATO INTRODUCES REVISED PLAN TO REDUCE CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE

On July 13, the 16 NATO countries tabled a revised proposal at the negotiation on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE). The CFE talks, which opened in Vienna in early March, are being conducted within the framework of the CSCE process and involve representatives of the 23 NATO and Warsaw Pact States. The negotiation covers the conventional forces of the 23 countries that are deployed in a zone stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. The objectives of the new negotiation are to: secure at a lower level a balance of conventional forces in Europe, eliminate disparities in force structures, and eliminate from force structures the capability to launch a surprise attack.

The latest Western initiative reflects the NATO leaders' agreement, reached during their May summit meeting in Brussels, to call for a reduction of Soviet and American ground forces in Europe. Under the plan, each country would have to reduce its troop levels to 275,000. In real terms, this would mean a cut of 30,000 American and 325,000 Soviet military personnel. These cuts would be in addition to the unilateral reductions announced by President Gorbachev last December in his United Nations address.

The revised NATO proposal provides for cuts in combat helicopters and planes. The inclusion of aircraft in the proposal represents a major Western step toward meeting an important Eastern concern because the East has long argued that the West has superiority in this area. Both sides have proposed cuts in tanks, armored personnel carriers, and artillery.

COMMISSION HOSTS RAOUL WALLENBERG ASSOCIATION REPRESENTATIVE

On July 20, the Helsinki Commission hosted Robert Braun, a founding member of the independent, Budapest-based Raoul Wallenberg Association. Mr. Braun, who is also a member of the Alliance of Free Democrats and FIDESZ (Association of Young Democrats), met with Co-Chairman Steny Hoyer and

The Western package also includes President Bush's suggestion that the negotiations produce an agreement by 1990. As a result, the talks have taken on a new sense of urgency and have made considerable progress since their opening. This rapid progress stands in stark contrast to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Negotiations (MBFR) talks which met for 14 years but failed to produce concrete results. The pace of the new talks may reflect, in part, improvements in East-West relations as well as the Eastern desire to cut costly conventional forces in light of domestic economic difficulties. Both sides are cautiously optimistic that an agreement could be concluded within a year.

While the gap between Eastern and Western positions has narrowed since the opening of the talks, considerable work remains to be done. Agreeing upon mutually-acceptable definitions of military hardware, such as what is a combat aircraft, a tank, or an armored personnel carrier, remains a key contentious issue.

There is also no agreement on the question of storage of materiel. The United States has insisted that the West faces a disadvantage versus the East because, in the event of a conflict in Europe, the United States would have to move personnel and materiel across the Atlantic. Under the current NATO proposal, the West would be allowed to store weapons, equipment, and ammunition at special sites in the Federal Republic of Germany for rapid deployment in times of crisis. The Warsaw Pact nations have not yet agreed upon a response to the proposal.

These and other outstanding issues will be the subject of further discussion when the talks resume on September 7.

Commissioner Edward Feighan and participated in briefings sponsored by the Helsinki Commission and Congressional Human Rights Caucus.

Founded in December of last year as a response to growing indications of anti-Semitism in Hungary, the Raoul Wallenberg Association now has about 350 members. The Association is

(continued on page 4)

(RAOUL WALLENBERG ASSOCIATION—continued)

dedicated to fighting discrimination, whether it is directed against Jews, Gypsies or any other minority group.

Members of the Association have aided minority group leaders in finding effective ways of representing their interests. This past spring, for instance, Wallenberg Association representatives were active in opposing construction of a Gypsy "ghetto" outside Hungary's second largest city, Miskolc. In May, they played a leading role in organizing a televised National Assembly commemoration of the 1944 deportations of Jews from Hungary.

Mr. Braun expressed great hope about the future course of reform in Hungary. He warned, however, that the majority of the population is silent, due not so much to apathy as to lingering fear. Most Hungarians, he said, are still trying to determine the limits of the possible, and are waiting before they act.

BULGARIA'S TREATMENT OF ETHNIC TURKS CONDEMNED

Since May, more than 200,000 ethnic Turks have left Bulgaria following the Government's harsh reaction to widespread protests against its policy of forced assimilation of the Turkish minority. In the early stages of this latest campaign, many ethnic Turks were expelled. Thousands more have since joined them in Turkey to escape cultural and religious repression. In addition, more than 30 ethnic Turks have been killed and hundreds wounded or detained during these protests.

In response to these egregious human rights violations, both Houses of Congress have passed legislation deploring the government's discriminatory treatment of the ethnic Turkish population. On July 31, the House unanimously passed H. Con. Res. 154, which was introduced by Congressman Stephen Solarz (D-NY) and Co-Chairman Hoyer. The legislation calls upon Bulgarian authorities to cease immediately all discriminatory practices against the country's Turkish minority and to honor Bulgaria's international obligations and public statements concerning the right of all Bulgarian citizens to emigrate freely. It also urges the administration to raise these issues at all appropriate fora, including the upcoming CSCE meeting on the environment scheduled to take place in Sofia, Bulgaria in October.

In the Senate, Chairman DeConcini was joined by Senator Robert Byrd (D-WV) in introducing to the State Department Authorization bill an amendment mirroring the House bill. The amendment, which was adopted 99-0, also authorizes a \$10 million grant to the Republic of Turkey to help pay for shelter, food, and other basic needs of those persons who have been displaced or have fled from Bulgaria.

FOCUS ON THE ENVIRONMENT

A 3-week CSCE meeting will take place in Sofia, Bulgaria this autumn with a mandate "to elaborate recommendations on principles and guidelines for further measures and cooperation in new and important areas of environmental protection." The Sofia Environmental Meeting will focus on industrial accidents, hazardous wastes and water pollution.

Commissioner Tim Wirth recently spoke before his Senate colleagues on East-West environmental cooperation. **Herewith are excerpts from Commissioner Wirth's speech:**

"The general opinion in the Soviet Union among specialists is the recognition that the world has entered into a new era where the old laws are no longer operative. Most notably, security is being redefined and the environment is being factored into that definition. However, whereas there has been significant progress on armament issues, the ecological situation remains threatening. This recognition is accompanied by an awakening to the fact that the Earth's natural resources are exhaustible and that the Soviet Union may have already reached the point where its land and water sources are not replenishable.

"We should be aware of the national and international security dimensions of our task.

"When the world becomes warmer, and oceans rise, what happens to our assumptions of coast lines, coastal integrity and sealanes?

"As deforestation grows, along with deserts, where do populations move and what kind of political pressures result?

"As agricultural patterns change, can we adapt through research rapidly enough to avert enormous famine?

"A warmer climate encourages greater disease, more insects, and increasingly subtle and frightening threats to human life.

"These examples could be multiplied endlessly. They portray a planet beset not by single, great difficulties like the nuclear balance of terror but by a host of complex, interlocking conflicts at a more local scale—many of them involving cultural beliefs, traditions, religious convictions with which we are woefully unfamiliar. To create peace and order in such a world will be inordinately more difficult even than solving the classic great-powers' security problems. What should nations like the United States and the U.S.S.R. be doing to prepare ourselves for our 21st-century roles in untangling this mess?

"Certainly the focus is changes. A world that was defined by arms relationships between the two is rapidly changing. A new imperative, global environmental problems, is going to define our relationships, and it is time for us to get moving on the urgency of this set of issues."

CSCE DIGEST

COMMISSION ON SECURITY
AND COOPERATION
IN EUROPE
Congress of the United States
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

Official Business

Dennis De Concini
U.S.S.